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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

FILE

APR 15 1965

TO: Amembassy RIO DE JANEIRO
FROM: Amconsul SAO PAULO
SUBJECT: Student Organizations in the State of São Paulo
REF: Embassy Guidance Memorandum of February 18, 1965

DATE: April 15, 1965

The following report is submitted in response to the Embassy's Guidance Memorandum of February 18, 1965, requesting contributions for a basic Embassy survey on student organizations in Brazil. Paul Brocchini, São Paulo Student Affairs Grantee, EO50x1 contributed information for the report's preparation. Only student organizations in the State of São Paulo are considered. Unfortunately, there is no information presently available in São Paulo concerning student organizations which may be functioning in the State of Mato Grosso.

At the present moment the influence and activity of student organizations in the State of São Paulo have diminished considerably. To generalize, student groups here have been off balance and disoriented since the passage of the Federal Government's "Suplicy Law", governing student organizations. Though the students have openly expressed opposition to the new law, which withdrew government recognition from the National Union of Students (UNE) and the State Union of Students (UEE), with which most existing student groups are affiliated, they have not yet managed to come to grips with the situation created by the law. Student groups have neither attempted to fit themselves into the new matrix envisioned by the law, nor have they formulated definite alternatives or agreed on specific courses of action.

In recent months public, organized student political activity has been almost totally lacking. The Suplicy Law not only forbade political action by student organizations, but also, and more importantly, as a result of the withdrawal of recognition, it cut off much of the cash with which student groups financed political undertakings. Until the passage of the law (November 9, 1964) the State Student Union (UEE) received a government subsidy. Some of

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the money filtered down to key student unions (centros academicos) of individual faculties, channeled by UEE leaders to unions in political agreement with UEE. In addition, prominent, active centros received funds from interested individuals specifically for political purposes now forbidden. Since these sources of income have almost entirely dried up, student public political endeavor has stalled. Moreover, as the groups lost their punch, they have also tended to encounter difficulties in maintaining membership interest and allegiance. It is no longer exciting to belong, nor are students in any way influencing the course of public affairs. It has been reported that in most groups the number of active, participating members has declined and that student organizations are applying what little cash they have available to keeping alive.

Student organizations in São Paulo State have been structured in a manner similar to those in other areas of Brazil. The parent organization is the State Union of Students (UEE) composed of member centros academicos. At the present time some 92 of the 110 existing centros belong to UEE, the rest being intervened or indifferent. The UEE's Council is composed of the presidents of 92 unions or centros. In the past the UEE has had annual congresses to elect its officers and to discuss policy. Though each member union has a voice in UEE elections and decisions, in actuality several large important unions have traditionally wielded disproportionately great influence.

In São Paulo State, a student union or centro academico exists for each faculty. All students studying under the faculty automatically belong to the centro which theoretically represents their interests vis-a-vis the institution which they are attending, as well as in general. In reality, it has been estimated that perhaps only 10 per cent of the student body in any São Paulo faculty really display noticeable interest in their union or its policies, and of the 10 per cent perhaps half really are actively involved in student politics. However, as all students are nominal members, the centro invariably claims to speak for all and thus may appear to carry a great deal more weight than it really possesses. In effect, the students or the ideological groups who win control of the centros represent them at UEE congresses, elect the UEE officers and thus call the shots for UEE political agitation.

On the local university or school level there is also the Diretoria Central which is composed of representatives of all the centros in the

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institution. It serves primarily as liaison between the students and the administration of the particular institution and beyond that has only limited functions. On occasions in the past some Diretorias Centrais have undertaken political activity in the name of the whole student body of a given institution.

Besides these groups, there are also organizations such as Ação Popular (AP), Política Operária (POLOP), and Grupo Independente (GI), based not on location, but on ideology. These are the most significant student organizations politically, since they have a definite philosophic outlook to which they are dedicated, possess members scattered throughout the student unions, and generally maintain better discipline. Each of these groups in competition with each other, through centros controlled by it, seeks to win direction of the UEE or influence in it, in order to use it in support of particular political programs and objectives. Politically, these organizations virtually cover the spectrum from Right Center to extreme Left. Like the unions themselves, they are in relative eclipse today. They appear to be having financial and membership problems and to be less firmly organized than previously, and thus less able to indulge in concerted political action.

There follows a short description of the present condition of the UEE, of some of the traditionally influential and active centros academicos, and of the ideological groups. A listing of the known centros in the State of São Paulo is attached.

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I. State Union of Students (UEE)

The São Paulo State Union of Students (UEE) was founded to represent university student interests on a state-wide basis and to serve as student spokesman. As mentioned above, 92 of the 110 unions in the State are members of it. Until passage of the Suplicy Law terminated government subsidies, the UEE was the primary vehicle through which student political activity was exercised. For this reason, by maneuvering at UEE congresses and by jockeying in between congresses, ideologically oriented groups such as AP and POLOP struggled for control of the organization. They sought to elect their members to UEE offices in order to influence, if not determine, the direction and tone of UEE political pronouncements and agitations.

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It has been observed that for the most part the UEE has tended to follow prevailing political currents. Its ability to affect political trends has either not existed or has been extremely modest. Thus, in the recent past, until after the Brazilian Revolution, the UEE was swinging increasingly to the Left. Communists were often successful in projecting themselves or their sympathizers into important UEE positions, with the cooperation of such groups as the AP. Since the Revolution, a counter movement has been apparent. At the XVII UEE Congress in late January 1965, Communists and extreme Leftists were shut out of office by a coalition of AP adherents from the University of São Paulo and the Catholic University of São Paulo and more conservative Right Center students from Mackenzie University. As a consequence, the UEE is much more moderate now, compared to its past extremism. However, it must be stressed that "moderate" is a very relative term. The UEE is still firmly anti-government and generally Leftist in orientation and it is thoroughly committed to oppose the Government's Suplicy Law. However, rather than adopt a GI plan to agitate against the law by violent strikes and demonstrations, the UEE decided to organize a student plebiscite on the law and then, after the students overwhelmingly voted against it, to attempt to convince the Government to repeal it.

Today, the importance of the UEE has diminished considerably. It enjoys less prestige among students than formerly, perhaps because it has lost its designation as the official and only state-wide student society. However, because it is still the only state-wide student organization in existence, it is important. The new State Student Union (Diretorio Estadual dos Estudantes, DEE), as outlined in the Suplicy Law, does not really exist and there is no indication that students will establish it in the near future.

II. Centros Academicos

a) Centro Academico XI de Agosto is the union of students attending the Faculty of Law of the University of São Paulo. With between 2,000 and 2,500 members, it is one of the largest centros in the state, as well as the oldest and traditionally the most influential. That XI de Agosto attracts considerable public attention and enjoys great influence among other centros is traceable partly to its strategic location directly in the center of the city. Because of this, its demonstrations and rallies have always attracted crowds. In the past the union's leaders, exploiting the centro's location, usually

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scheduled manifestations for six in the evening in order to block traffic and trap homeward bound workers. As newspaper offices are located in the near vicinity of the Law School, the union has also managed to command ample press coverage. In UEE congresses and other student meetings, XI de Agosto is always well represented by articulate spokesmen and invariably assumes a leading role. At the present time the union, which proclaims its orientation to be Center-Left, is actually controlled by the Chinese-Line Communist Grupo Independente. XI de Agosto is therefore in the forefront of all extreme Leftist activity.

b) Centro Acadêmico Oswaldo Cruz, the union of students at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of São Paulo, possesses considerable influence in other medical schools in the state. For the past ten years the union has followed a Center-Left line.

c) Grêmio Politécnico is the union of students at the Faculty of Engineering of the University of São Paulo. This group has influence in engineering schools throughout the state. In the recent past the union has been under the control of extreme Leftists. As only a small number of engineering students have the free time and the desire to participate in student politics, the well organized Leftists have had little difficulty in maintaining their position in the organization.

d) Grêmio da Faculdade de Filosofia da Universidade de São Paulo often follows the lead of XI de Agosto. Traditionally the union has belonged to the Left and has been controlled by extreme Leftists and pro-Communists. The union strongly supported both President Goulart and Darci Ribeiro. In some student circles it is believed that Leftist forces maintain their headquarters and refuge in this group. At the present time, however, XI de Agosto calls the extreme Leftist signals.

e) Centro Acadêmico Visconde de Cairú is the union of economics students of the University of São Paulo and as such often exerts leadership in the other economics faculties throughout the state. Until about five years ago, this union was considered conservative. Now, reflecting the general trend of the country, it may be described as Center-Left in outlook.

f) Centro Acadêmico XXII de Agosto represents the Law students of the Catholic University of São Paulo and is the leading student union of that institution. Formerly a Centrist, moderate organization, it is now Center-Left.

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g) Centro Acadêmico João Mendes Jr. is the union for students attending the law school of Mackenzie University. Generally, this group used to follow the lead of XI de Agosto. However, as XI de Agosto moved further Left, João Mendes maintained its conservative viewpoint. Observers ascribe this development to the fact that Mackenzie students, unlike those attending state schools, must pay tuition and are therefore, as a rule, from families in better financial circumstances. For this reason they tend to be more conservative. This union vies with Centro Acadêmico Horacio Lane for student leadership at Mackenzie University.

h) Centro Acadêmico Horacio Lane, the oldest student union at Mackenzie University, represents students in the Faculty of Engineering. Its traditional policy has been one of moderation, though at one time it reportedly fell under Communist control for several years. At present it occupies a Center position.

i) Centro Acadêmico 9 de Julho, the union of students attending the Faculty of Law at Baurú, carries great weight in the "interior" of the State, partly because Baurú, an economic and cultural center, attracts students from throughout the interior. The union has traditionally maintained a moderate, Center position.

j) Centro Acadêmico Luiz de Queiroz is the union for the agronomy faculty of the University of São Paulo, located at Piracicaba. The union follows a middle-of-the-road line and has consistently been a leader among unions in the "interior" of São Paulo State.

III. Ideological Student Groups

a) Juventude Universitaria Catolica (JUC) was founded in 1951 as an apostolic and religious Catholic student organization on the university level. While it was not to become involved in political activity according to its statutes, it eventually developed by the late 1950s or early 1960s into a leading political force in São Paulo state student politics. It also became, and has continued to be, the largest single student group in the state. Student leaders have estimated that JUC, along with Ação Popular, is supported by about 40 per cent of the university students.

From its initiation, JUC in this area has been led and advised by priests and students identifying themselves with the so-called Catholic Left.

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As a result, it has been strongly Leftist oriented in its outlook. While professedly and officially non-Marxist, JUC has indeed adopted Marxist political and economic theories, objectives, and terminology, as well as the social and economic attitudes enunciated in the series of papal encyclicals commencing with Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum. Given its general standpoint, JUC's position on many specific issues has been virtually identical to that of the Communists. Areas of agreement between the two gradually led to working arrangements in student politics and eventually during the last several years before the Revolution to intimate collaboration.

After the Revolution the São Paulo JUC, as an organization, withdrew completely from political activity at the command of Cardinal Dom Agnelo ROSSI, now Archbishop of São Paulo, who insisted that JUC return to original exclusively academic and religious orientation. This does not mean that JUC members have lost interest in political affairs or have refrained from activity. They continue to express themselves politically through Ação Popular. While JUC seems to have become more moderate in its theories, it is still classified as firmly committed to the Left.

b) Ação Popular (AP) was founded in 1962 primarily by JUC members who wished to escape Catholic clerical control and interference. While AP grew out of the student sector, its interests and objectives are not limited to this field. However, as far as its student activities are concerned, AP is often viewed as the political arm of JUC. JUC provides the membership backbone for AP's student wing, has maintained close, friendly contact with AP and in the past has operated through AP to realize political aims and expand its political influence.

In its present political outlook AP is considered to be somewhat more restrained than previously. Although the group is still anti-Government and anti-Revolution, a relatively moderate leadership is reported to be firmly in the saddle. The present official position of the group can be described as Left to Left Center Socialist. The AP may seem more united than it really is because it is organized according to the principle of democratic centralism, according to which a decision, taken by the leadership only after intensive discussion at all levels, becomes binding on all members. It is known, however, that AP is currently split into two wings on the Suplicy Law. The more moderate leadership favored holding the UEE plebiscite and attempts to convince the Government to repeal the law, while a more radical element has insisted on violent, active

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protests. While the moderates terminated cooperation with Communists to take control of the UEE with support from more conservative Mackenzie University elements, the radicals back continuation of the collaboration.

Politically, AP is still the most powerful student group in the State of São Paulo. Thus far, internal disagreements do not appear to have triggered schism. However, AP's present strength cannot be accurately estimated, as the organization has not held public meetings since the beginning of the year. Moreover, it has voiced opinions only through such other groups as the UEE and centros académicos under its control.

c) Política Operária (POLOP) is a small Trotskyist organization which may now be in its death throes. While some observers disagree with the Trotskyist label, claiming that it is rather a catch-all for otherwise unaffiliated Marxist students, no one disputes the group's orientation and its extreme opposition to the Brazilian Revolution. Always of only marginal influence, it has now sunk to almost complete unimportance. Before the Revolution it enjoyed notoriety not only for its extremism but also for the activities of its goons who often roughed up student political opponents.

d) Grupo Independente, a small, Chinese-wing Communist group, is more or less the university youth wing of the dissident Communist Party of Brazil. The organization is important at present only in that it controls the influential Centro Acadêmico XI de Agosto.

e) União do Juventude Comunista (UJC), the youth group of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB), is not an important factor in São Paulo student affairs. Its membership strength cannot be estimated, but it is known to be small, and well-disciplined.

f) Juventude Democrática Crista (JDC) is a new student movement founded in Rio several months ago. A branch is now being organized in São Paulo. It is reported to be directly connected with the Partido Democrática Crista (PDC). At present the group has only 50 members in this city and no information on its outlook is available.

g) Frente Democrática Universitária, a democratic, Right-wing group, succumbed in early 1965. It had been centered at Mackenzie University. Students who formerly belonged to it have not reconstituted themselves into another group, and are now unorganized. They are referred to as Independents or Democrats. These are the students who cooperated with moderate APistas to seize control of the UEE in January 1965.

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Diretório Central dos Estudantes da
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